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proposals, which in general were acceptable to the Egyptian Nationalists, met with the opposition of foreigners who, as wealthy middlemen, had exploited the trade of Egypt without being subject to taxation. Likewise many prominent Englishmen, notably Winston Spencer Churchill, who succeeded Lord Milner as Colonial Secretary, were not in sympathy with any suggestion for Egyptian independence. Pending the result, Nationalist riots and demonstrations again became prevalent.—Business depression and strikes seriously disturbed **Australia** during the year. To supplement the Arbitration Court, which had been seriously hampered by congestion, an Industrial Peace Act was passed providing for the establishment of central and district councils composed of an equal number of employers and employees. These councils were to have advisory jurisdiction only.—The government of **New Zealand** decreed that no motion-picture film depicting thievery, robbery, murder or suicide may be shown after May 1. During the year under review there was a rapid increase in the formation of agricultural coöperative societies.—Prince Arthur of Connaught, the new Governor-General of **South Africa**, assumed office in October. As a result of one of the most important elections ever held, the South African party under General Smuts on February 8 won a sweeping victory over the Nationalists headed by General Herzog. The issue was definite: General Smuts's party stood for union with the Empire, the Nationalists favored secession. The returns gave the South African party 76; Nationalists 41; Laborites 9; Independents 1. The Cape Federation of Labor unions voted to affiliate with the Third International.

VIII. CONTINENTAL EUROPE

FRANCE.—During the year questions relating to the Versailles Treaty, especially German reparations and disarmament, economic and social problems and matters of foreign policy, have occupied the foreground in French politics. As a result of the Spa Conference (*cf. supra*, p. 1) Premier Millerand was able to report that France was assured eighty per cent of her necessary coal supply at one-fifth less cost. The Spa arrangement did not meet with entire approval, but the Chamber expressed confidence by a vote of 356 to 169.—The **resignation of M. Deschanel** as President of the Republic, September 15, on the plea of ill-health, caused intense political excitement. Election of his successor occurred on September 23 when M. Millerand, the Premier, was chosen by a vote of 695 out of a total of 892, the Socialists refusing to vote. On September 24 Georges **Leygues**, Minister of Marine under Clemenceau, was chosen **premier** and minister of foreign affairs, and the following day received the support of the Chamber, 507 to 80.—At an extraordinary session of the parliament which assembled on November 8, primarily to consider the 1921 budget,

other important matters were discussed, notably **foreign policy** relative to Great Britain, the Vatican and Syria. The rift in Anglo-French relations (*cf. supra*, p. 5), the result in part of Great Britain's unexpected renunciation of her treaty rights to confiscate German property, was smoothed over. France realized that by continuing her policy of vigorous support to Poland and uncompromising hostility toward Soviet Russia she had contributed her part in weakening the diplomatic bonds with Britain. After the Chamber had heard the report of General Gouraud, high commissioner for Syria, Premier Leygues emphatically declared that France should retain her grip on this important region; withdrawal, he argued, would imperil France in the East, in the Mediterranean and in northern Africa, but he intimated that Cilicia would be evacuated. **Resumption of diplomatic relations with the Vatican** was favored by the Chamber, 397 to 209. The anti-clericals professed to see in this step a recrudescence of papal interference in French affairs, domestic and foreign. Before adjournment parliament passed the **army-reorganization** bill which, among other things, provided for the reduction of the period of military service from three years to eighteen months. As a result, M. Lefèvre, Minister of War, resigned, the Chamber supporting the government 489 to 69; M. Raiberti succeeded to the war portfolio.—The triennial **senatorial elections**, held January 9, resulted in the selection of 3 Conservatives, 39 Republicans, 43 Radicals and Radical Socialists, and 11 Republican Socialists, a gain of 3 seats by the group of the Left. Ex-President Deschanel was among those elected; the Minister of Agriculture, M. Ricard, suffered defeat.—When Parliament reopened on January 11 the gathering storm of opposition to the Leygues government broke forth. Not only the Premier's domestic policy, relative to Bolshevik propaganda and monarchist plots, but his German policy also was attacked by the **Nationalists** headed by former President Poincaré. They condemned especially the slight progress which the government had made in securing German disarmament and its spirit of conciliation toward Germany in the matter of reparation payments. The government was further embarrassed at this time by the general spirit of impatience which prevailed as a result of industrial depression, unemployment, the increasing cost of food and burdensome taxes. On January 12, when the Premier sought to postpone interpellation, the Chamber indicated its lack of confidence by a vote of 463 to 125. The formation of a **new government** was entrusted to M. Péret, president of the Chamber, in the hope that he might induce M. Poincaré to become minister of finance and M. Briand minister of foreign affairs. After the former had indicated his unwillingness to accept office unless the portfolio of foreign affairs was tendered either to himself or to M. Viviani, M. Péret renounced the task. President Millerand, it was asserted, desired to

avoid international complications that might arise from appointment of M. Poincaré and called upon **Aristide Briand** to select a **cabinet**. His selection, embracing two senators and thirteen deputies, was as follows: Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Briand; Justice, M. Bonnevey; Interior, M. Marrand; Finance, M. Doumer; War, M. Barthou; Navy, M. Guist'hau; Education and Fine Arts, M. Bérard; Public Works, M. Le Trocquer; Commerce, M. Dior; Agriculture, M. du Prey; Colonial Minister, M. Sarraut; Labor, M. Daniel-Vincent; Liberated Districts, M. Loucheur; Hygiene, M. Leredu; Pensions, M. Maginot. The program of the new premier included reduction of expenditures and the reorganization of the financial administration, measures to remedy unemployment and industrial depression, reduction of military forces without weakening the military prowess of France, the conclusion of a new treaty with Turkey, the non-recognition of Soviet Russia, a close bond of friendship with Great Britain, and a firm hand in dealing with Germany. The Chamber, by 475 votes to 68, responded to the Premier's appeal for confidence. As a result of protracted negotiations with Germany (*cf. supra*, p. 9) the government was repeatedly attacked by M. Poincaré and his principal supporter, André Tardieu. President Millerand and M. Briand sought to maintain the Entente with England, while the Poincaré faction would cut loose from Great Britain and resort to military force in shaping French foreign policy. On March 17, following a three-day debate on the subject of German reparations, the Chamber expressed confidence in the government, 491 to 66.—Radicals and radical labor organizations were drastically opposed by official France throughout the year. The two British Council of Labor delegates, Mr. Adamson and Mr. Gosling, sent to confer with French labor, were expelled by the government. On October 2 the **Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.)**, by 1478 votes to 602, declared against joining the Third International; it expressed sympathy for Soviet Russia and denounced the French government as the servile instrument of world reaction. On January 13 the dissolution of the Confederation was ordered on the ground that it was guilty of subversive conduct in causing the railroad strike of May, 1920 with the ulterior motive of sovietizing France. The sole object of the unions, according to the Trade Union Act of 1884, it was held, was the study and defense of their interests, economic, industrial, commercial and agricultural. It was maintained that for some time the Confederation had preached social revolution, incited mutiny in the navy and, by street demonstrations and strikes, attempted to influence the foreign policy of the state. The decision of the court, against which a vigorous protest was made, was ignored by the Confederation.—On December 30 the French Socialists at their **Congress at Tours** voted by 3208 to 1220 to adhere to the Third International. The minority favored remaining

loyal to the Jaurès tradition and, January 7, met to reconstruct the United Socialist party.—By a July enactment **compulsory physical education** for children of both sexes was instituted: for boys, from 6 to 16, when they must begin their compulsory military preparation, and for girls, during the period of primary and secondary education.—The national debt, which on August 1, 1914, was 27 billion francs, amounted on March 1, 1921, to 302 billion francs. The ordinary budget for 1921 provided for a revenue of 22,609,492,095 francs. In addition, an extraordinary budget of 750,000,000 francs was voted for the administration of Alsace-Lorraine. To add to the financial anxieties of the government, the Algerian budget showed a deficit for the first time in a number of years. A national 6 per cent loan of four billion francs, launched on October 20, was oversubscribed.—From the standpoint of agriculture, reconstruction of the devastated area proceeded rapidly; the slow progress toward industrial reconstruction caused considerable complaint.—(Cf. International Relations, *supra*.)

ITALY.—Questions of foreign policy, a crushing national debt, burdensome taxes and social-economic revolution were the outstanding problems with which the Italian kingdom wrestled during the past year. The **program of the Giolitti coalition government** (cf. last RECORD, pp. 112-13) included modification of Article 5 of the constitution so as to make declaration of war and the conclusion of treaties dependent upon the sanction of parliament, the compulsory cultivation of cereals on waste or badly farmed lands, measures against profiteering and surrender to the state of excess profits, inquiry into war expenditures including revision of existing contracts relating thereto, an increase in death duties, imposition of a tax on all financial securities and bonds, adjustment of the Fiume dispute, and an independent Albania with Italian retention of Avlona. On July 9 the Chamber expressed confidence, 411 to 265.—Subsequently a **protocol** was signed with **Albania** whereby Italy agreed to recognize "complete Albanian independence" and to surrender Avlona. Italy was to retain and fortify the island of Saseno at the entrance to the bay of Avlona and also Punta Linguetta on the mainland. Military and commercial understandings were provided for. Italian troops were to be withdrawn from Avlona and other Albanian ports as soon as public order permitted.—In August Minister of Finance **Tedesco** resigned for reasons of health; he was succeeded by Luigi **Facià**.—Late in August the long period of social and **industrial unrest** culminated in a serious upheaval and far-reaching modification of the existing economic régime. Anticipating a lockout, the metallurgical workers took possession of their plants, organized workingmen's councils and, so far as possible, continued operations. On September 11 workmen took over 200 chemical plants and several textile mills. The government, to which the factory workers appealed for protection of their

property rights, for the time being remained neutral, declaring the movement to be merely a new form of struggle between capital and labor and one not warranting government interference so long as property was not damaged or lives sacrificed. On September 12 a **National Labor Convention** representing about 1,200,000 members of various unions, guilds, chambers and syndicates affiliated with the Italian General Confederation of Labor, went on record by a vote of 650,000 to 450,000 as favoring the organization of Italian industry on a Soviet basis. On the following day, however, representatives of labor opposed to sovietization together with representatives of the official Socialist party voted 591,000 to 245 in favor of syndicalization. At this point, when it was obvious that the parties to the controversy could not come together, the government intervened. On September 14 Premier Giolitti summoned employers and employees for a conference at Turin. Negotiations begun there were continued at Rome and as a result a **plan of settlement** proposed by the Premier was accepted; by it employers agreed to let employees participate but not dominate in plant management, the amount of control to be determined by a mixed commission. A wage increase of 15 per cent retro-active to July 15, except during the period when the factories were commandeered by the workers, was likewise agreed to and the seized factories were to be returned to their owners. Under threat of compulsion from the Premier the employers finally consented to rehire unconditionally all their former employees however guilty of acts of violence. This arrangement was ratified by the Confederation of Employers meeting at Milan and by the metal workers on September 26 by a referendum of 132,000 to 45,000. In the hope of a permanent settlement the government produced a bill providing for **industrial councils** or commissions of nine members for each of the important industries of the country except those under government ownership. These commissions were to be elected on a proportional basis by adult workers of each industry, six members representing workers and three the technical and higher employees. Two or more delegates were to be chosen by the commission in each factory where at least 60 workmen were employed and which had been in operation for at least four years, to make reports and furnish data to the commission. Employers were to have a commission of nine to keep in touch with and negotiate with the workmen's commission. The workingmen's share in management would consist largely in rights of access to and explanation of data bearing on methods of purchasing, fixation of prices, regulation of methods of employment and discharge, reduction in the number of employees or in hours of labor. The measure also provided for labor bureaus and for arbitration in case of industrial disputes. This bill was bitterly assailed by Nitti and others and failed of passage.— Attempts of the Italian Extremists and Rus-

sian Bolsheviks to dominate the Socialist party and, through it, the revolution were largely abortive. After the **Socialist Congresses** of Reggio Emilia and Florence, where an attempt was made to register the party as wholeheartedly in support of the Third International, a definite split occurred at the National Convention at Leghorn on January 21. By a vote of 112,241 to 58,900 the delegates, while voting for unity, declined to accept unconditionally the tenets of the Third International, whereupon the Communists announced their secession from the party. Continued social unrest and agitation by the Communists and Fascisti accounted for the many disturbances and acts of violence committed during the fall and winter. The **Fascisti**, composed for the most part of young men of the middle class, college students and ex-service men, were militant Nationalists; against not only the Communists but even against the Moderate Socialists they waged an incessant campaign of opposition and violence, especially in the industrial centers.—In Sicily and southern Italy the **peasants**, imitating the industrial north, seized the large estates and pressed for agrarian reform; in this demand they were supported by the left wing of the Catholic Party.—The government announced on November 5 that Senator Vittorio Rolandi Ricci would succeed Baron Camillo Avezana as Italian Ambassador to Washington.—By the Treaty of Rapallo (*cf. supra*, p. 6), promulgated by royal decree on November 15, the Northern Adriatic problem was settled, at least for the time being. Gabriele d'Annunzio, the self-styled "Rector of the Regency of the Quarnero", who on September 20 had declared Fiume to be an independent state, vehemently denounced the treaty. When it became evident that Italy intended to enforce the terms of the Rapallo agreement, d'Annunzio on December 3 condemned the government as traitorous and declared war on Italy. After considerable parley with the obdurate poet, Fiume was bombarded on December 27 by Italian regulars under the command of General Caviglia. D'Annunzio, after expressing his disappointment that the people of Italy had not rallied to his standard, departed, January 18, for Paris. Elections to a Constituent Assembly in Fiume, held April 24, resulted in the defeat of the Nationalists. The election returns were immediately destroyed by the militia at the instigation of the Fascisti, who subsequently executed a *coup d'état* and proclaimed a provisional government in the form of a Directory.—On December 19 Signor Meda, Minister of Finance, stated that the **budget deficit** for 1921-1922 would be 10,000,000,000 lire as compared with a deficit of 14,000,000,000 lire for 1920-1921. The resignation of Signor Meda was announced on April 3; he was succeeded by Signor Bonomi, Minister of War, Signor Rodino being named to the latter portfolio.—Following the dissolution of the Chamber on April 6, **general elections** were held, May 16. By the addition of new provinces the number of deputies was increased from

508 to 535. According to the returns, the Constitutional Coalition (Liberals, Liberal Democrats, Progressives) obtained 265 seats; Socialists (all factions) 134; Popularists (Catholics) 101; Republicans 10; Nitti Liberals 15; Slavs 6; Germans 4. — Believing that it no longer enjoyed the Chamber's confidence, the **Giolitti ministry resigned** office on June 27.

GERMANY.—The principal events of the year to a large degree revolved around economic problems. By the selection of Dr. Heinrich Brauns (Centrist) as Minister of Labor, the **Fehrenbach cabinet** (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 120) was completed, July 1. In outlining his program before the first Reichstag of the Republic, the Chancellor stated that Germany was doing her best to live up to the Versailles Treaty and would continue so to do. He pleaded for the coöperation of all classes and promised to carry out the many social and industrial reforms made possible by the constitution. A motion sponsored by the Independent Socialists, July 3, expressing lack of confidence was rejected 313 to 64.—Dr. Simons, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reporting the result of the Spa Conference (*cf. supra*, p. 1), declared, July 28, that Germany might as well make up its mind to accept the consequences of the war and do its utmost to live up to its obligations. The Spa agreement was thereupon approved by a large majority of the Reichstag, the only opposition coming from the reactionary Right and the Independent Socialists.—As a step toward disarmament, the Reichstag, July 31, **abolished compulsory military service**. It was officially reported on December 26 that the army had been reduced to 100,000 officers and men as required under the Spa arrangement. **Disarmament** of the civilian population, the subject of considerable correspondence with the Allied Powers, proceeded under the direction of Dr. Peters, National Commissioner for Disarmament. The period for voluntary surrender of arms having expired, a house-to-house search was instituted on December 17. Such strong resistance against disarmament was encountered in Bavaria and East Prussia that it became necessary in March to enact additional federal legislation to compel obedience. The metal of the surrendered arms was used in the manufacture of agricultural implements.—Clashes on the **Prussian-Polish frontier** were frequent throughout the year. German requests for permission to send additional troops to the frontier were consistently refused by the Entente. The Foreign Minister declared, August 5, that the nation would resist by force, if necessary, any Allied violation of German neutrality in sending troops or munitions across her territory to assist Poland, and in this he was supported by the parties of the Left.—Nationalization of mines, long urged by the miners, was advocated by a special government commission in a report submitted September 3; but this action was opposed by Hugo Stinnes and other industrialists.—Intense interest was manifested in

the proceedings of the **Independent Socialist Convention** held at Halle, where, October 16, the party representatives by a vote of 237 to 156 decided to affiliate with the Third International. The minority under the leadership of George Ledebour, Crespien and Dittmann immediately left the assembly and held a rump convention. The government the next day ordered the expulsion of George Zinoviev, chairman of the executive committee of the Third International, and M. Losovsky, a Russian trade-union leader, both of whom had pleaded for affiliation with Moscow. The secession of the moderates led to a party split, the left wing fusing with the Communists; the right wing appears to have succeeded in retaining the party name and control of most of the party newspapers. The Majority Socialists made many overtures to the moderates for amalgamation but thus far without success.—Unemployment, dissatisfaction with wage scales, food shortage and extremist agitation were responsible for intermittent strike epidemics during the past year. One of the most annoying of the **labor disturbances** occurred on November 6 when the electricians of Berlin quit work, tying up power plants and crippling lighting and street-car service. The difficulty ended on November 10 when President Ebert issued an ordinance by which strikes in gas, water and electric works were to be permitted only after the conciliation commission had rendered a decision thereon.—Approval of the efforts of Dr. Simons, Minister of **Foreign Affairs**, at the London Conference (*cf. supra*, p. 9) was registered on March 12 by passage of a Reichstag resolution, 268 to 49, the Communists and some of the Independent Socialists voicing dissent. Dr. Simons in expressing the opinion that the penalties imposed upon Germany by the Allies were illegal, declared he was satisfied that their demands were not inspired "merely by the intoxication of victory or lust for power", but on the contrary they were the "result of extraordinarily heavy troubles and distress in their own countries". Official resentment over the result of the London Conference and Allied military occupation of the Ruhr district (*cf. supra*, p. 10) was indicated, March 8, by the recall of the German ambassadors from London, Paris and Brussels.—A formidable **revolutionary movement**, launched by Communist leaders in the industrial districts of Central Germany in March, resulted in considerable loss of life. Following the arrest, March 13, of a number of Communists charged with complicity in widespread plots to destroy public property, a general strike was called in the Halle region. Sympathetic movements occurred in Essen and Hamburg and outbreaks and scattering bomb attacks upon public buildings were reported from Leipzig, Freiburg, Plauen, Rodewisch, Dresden and other centers. In many instances property was seized and the red flag displayed. President Ebert's proclamation of a state of modified siege and the denunciation of the uprising by the General Trade Union

League morally weakened the revolutionists. Within two weeks the military police had restored order, much to the chagrin of the Extremists of both the Right and Left, and the ranks of the Communist party appear to have been disrupted.—Dr. Wirth, Minister of Finance, in July placed the German debt, apart from reparations and indemnities, at 265,000,000,000 marks. The ordinary budget for 1921 called for 49,945,202,051 marks, an increase of about two billion marks over the previous year. The extraordinary budget carried 43,667,104,308 marks for expenditure as against 10,556,468,118 marks for revenue; over 33 billion marks must, therefore, be raised by loan. Although the government seemed to be poverty-stricken, private **industry** appeared prosperous. Under the leadership of Hugo Stinnes there was rapid development in industrial combination and, to a considerable extent, an elimination of the middleman. According to January reports, new capital invested during 1920 totaled 14 billion marks. German trade with the United States for the same year was valued at \$400,300,000 as against \$103,000,000 for 1919. Similar increases were reported with other countries. The government voted 12 billion marks to indemnify German shipping companies for war losses and in return the companies pledged themselves to build at least one-third of Germany's pre-war tonnage within the next ten years.—A general amnesty was granted, August 2, to all persons connected with the Kapp revolt with the exception of the principal leaders.—The **Fehrenbach ministry**, often spoken of as the "cabinet of big business", **resigned** on May 4, just previous to the presentation of the Allied ultimatum (*cf. supra*, p. 11). It was succeeded on May 10 by a coalition government drawn from the ranks of the Majority Socialist, Centrist and Democratic parties. The **new cabinet** organized by Dr. Julius Wirth (Centrist) as Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs comprised the following members: Finance Minister and Vice-Chancellor, Gustav Bauer (Majority Socialist); Economics, Dr. Heinrich Brauns (Centrist); Justice, Herr Schiffer (Democrat); Labor, Robert Schmidt (Majority Socialist); Transportation, General Groener (Democrat); Posts and Telegraphs, Johann Giesberts (Centrist); Agriculture and Foodstuffs, Andreas Hermes (Centrist); Interior, George Gradnauer (Majority Socialist); Defense, Dr. Gessler (Democrat); Reconstruction, Herr Silberschmidt (Majority Socialist). Herr Bauer was a former Chancellor; Dr. Gessler, Herr Hermes, Herr Giesberts and General Groener held the same portfolios in the Fehrenbach cabinet, and Dr. Brauns was Minister of Labor in that body. Immediately after the new cabinet had been announced, the Reichstag voted, 221 to 175, to accept the Allied terms.—Violent manifestations of **anti-Semitism** were frequent, especially in Munich and Berlin.—The **death of von Bethmann Hollweg**, former Chancellor, occurred January 1.—Unusual interest was taken in **state and muni-**

cipal elections. As a result of elections for the **Saxon Diet**, held November 14, the Majority Socialists won 27 seats, a loss of 15; Independent Socialists, 16, a gain of 1; Communists, 6; German Nationalists, 20, a gain of 7; People's Party, 18, a gain of 14; Democrats, 8, a loss of 14; Centrists, 1. The **Prussian Landtag elections** held February 20 resulted in a victory for the government coalition, which secured 232 seats as follows: Majority Socialists, 114; Centrists, 92; Democrats, 26. The opposition parties elected 196 members; German National Party, 75; German People's Party, 56; Independent Socialists, 29; Communists, 30; Middle Class (Economic Party), 4. On January 20 Dr. Gustave Boess was elected Head Mayor of Berlin, succeeding Adolf Wermuth.

AUSTRIA.—Starvation, disease, unemployment, industrial disability, lawlessness and national bankruptcy were the problems which gripped Republican Austria during the past year.—After protracted negotiations a **new cabinet** was formed on July 4 by agreement of the leaders of the three major parties, Social Democrats, Christian Socialists Union and the Pan-Germanists (Great German Union). Led by Dr. Mayr (Christian Socialist), the ministry was composed as follows: Interior, Kreisky (Christian Socialist); Commerce, Heinel (Christian Socialist); Agriculture, Hausis (Christian Socialist); Religion, Miklas (Christian Socialist); Foreign Affairs, Renner (Social Democrat); National Defense, Deutsch (Social Democrat); Social Affairs, Hanusch (Social Democrat); Education, Glockel (Social Democrat); Chairman of Committee for Socialization, Ellenbogen (Social Democrat); Justice, Roller (Pan-Germanist); Finance, Reisch (Pan-Germanist); Food, Lowenfeld-Russ (Pan-Germanist). In the formation of this coalition cabinet rather novel departures in parliamentary government were introduced. In the first place, the ministers, instead of being named by the president, were elected by their respective parties on the basis of proportional representation; secondly, it was arranged that each minister should retain his portfolio as long as his party expressed confidence in him even though the other parties failed to support him. Dr. Mayr freely admitted that the government had no program but would confine itself to the maintenance of law and order.—On October 1 the **National Constituent Assembly** completed its labors and its career when it passed the constitution by which Austria was transformed from a unitary state into a Federal Republic of eight states. According to the **basic law** the federal legislature consists of two chambers, the National Council (Diet) elected by universal suffrage on the basis of proportional representation, and the Federal Council chosen by the Landtags of the states. The Federal Council has a strictly limited veto power over measures enacted by the popular chamber. The two houses together constitute the Federal Assembly, whose sole functions are to declare war

and elect the Federal President. The cabinet is selected by the National Council to which it is responsible. The 46 delegates of the Federal Council are apportioned as follows: Lower Austria, 22 (city of Vienna 12, province 10); Upper Austria and Styria, 6 each; Carinthia, Salzburg, Tyrol and Vorarlberg, 3 each. Burgenland (the West Hungarian territory awarded to Austria by peace treaties) for the time being is unrepresented in the Upper Chamber. By elections held October 17, the 175 seats of the National Council were distributed as follows: Christian Socialists, 82; Social Democrats, 66; Pan-Germanists, 20; Peasants' League, 6; Bourgeois Party of Work, 1. The Communist party polled 20,000 votes but failed to obtain a single seat. The most important issue of the campaign was the question of union with Germany, which was vigorously opposed by the Christian Socialists. Dr. Richard Weisskerchner (Christian Socialist), for many years mayor of Vienna, was chosen president of the Council on November 10. In the meantime, October 22, the coalition cabinet was disrupted by the resignation of the Social Democratic members, who refused longer to collaborate with the Christian Socialists. The latter, after considerable parley, having effected an arrangement with the Pan-Germanists, with whom they fundamentally differed on matters of foreign policy, succeeded in forming a government including six non-political experts. In this cabinet Dr. Mayr became Chancellor and Foreign Minister; Dr. Egon Glanz (expert) assumed the portfolio of the Interior; Dr. Mueller, War; Walter Breisky (expert), Education; Dr. Ferdinand Grimm (expert), Finance; Dr. Alfred Grünberger (expert), Food Supply; Dr. Rudolf Paltauf (expert), Justice; Edward Heintl, Commerce; Alois Haneis, Agriculture; Dr. Joseph Resch, Public Welfare. The official program of the new government, as announced by Dr. Mayr, was purely economic. Its chief aims were to provide an adequate food supply and to revive industry.—At a meeting of the Federal Assembly, December 9, Dr. Michael Hainisch (non-party) was elected President of the Republic on the fifth ballot by a vote of 129 to 85 over Dr. Seitz, the Social Democratic candidate.—Hungarian hostility toward Austria was evident throughout the year. In the autumn an economic boycott seriously interfered with Austria's coal supply. Border military raids, especially the August raid on Fürstenfeld, particularly alarmed the Austrians, despite the Hungarian government's denial of complicity. Relations were further strained by the Hungarian attitude regarding West Hungary (Burgenland). Ex-Emperor Charles's attempted coup d'état and journey through Austrian territory, aside from causing a considerable flutter, resulted in the resignation of Dr. Glanz, Minister of Interior, and Dr. Mueller, Minister of Defense.—The Austrian budget for 1920-21 called for the enormous expenditure of 33,194 million crowns as compared with 16,873 million for 1919-20. The deficit totaled 12,539 million

crowns, an increase of 1,960 million over the previous year. In addition, a supplementary budget showed a deficit of 40 billion crowns.—After an heroic attempt to avoid financial chaos, the government on January 11 informed the Entente Powers that it had reached the end of its resources and was ready to retire on January 15 and hand the administration of the country over to the Reparations Commission. The latter being apparently in no haste to assume such responsibility, the Supreme Council invited Austria to send representatives to discuss the question of financial relief. At this conference, held March 12, the Allies expressed good will but failed to grant the long-hoped-for aid. Late in May the government resigned office; it was succeeded on June 21 by a cabinet formed by **Johann Schober**.—Continued **agitation for union with Germany** was a source of much anxiety to the Allies, and particularly to France. On April 14 the Entente, under threat of withdrawing its proposals for financial relief, requested the Austrian government to suppress such agitation.—**Anti-Semitic demonstrations** were frequent during the year.—On December 15 Austria was unanimously admitted to membership in the League of Nations.

HUNGARY.—The chaotic conditions which had characterized the political life of Hungary since the Great War continued during the past year. With its economic fabric tangled and disorganized, its government bankrupt in all but name, with a currency so depreciated as to be almost worthless, and with its population disunited by religious feuds and class struggles, its leaders contented themselves with fruitless discussion and sterile bickerings regarding the form of the future government of the nation. Reactionary terrorism which swept over Hungary during the last year led to a stringent economic boycott of the country by international labor and, finally, to a government crisis (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 133). After a futile endeavor to maintain itself the Simonyi-Semadam cabinet was forced to withdraw. On July 20 Count Paul **Teleki** was appointed **premier** and succeeded in forming a government indorsed by both the Small Landholders' Party and the Christian Nationalists. Instead of curbing the White Terror, the most insistent problem facing the nation, the new administration, narrow, racial and anti-Semitic, apparently sanctioned the reactionary activities. Indeed the Premier together with Count **Apponyi**, with the alleged approval of France, even countenanced a larger military establishment with the pretext of using it against Bolshevistic Russia.—On November 13 the **Treaty of Trianon** was ratified by the National Assembly. The Christian Nationalists, under the leadership of ex-Premier **Friedrich**, together with the Dissidents, refused to recognize the ratification and left the Chamber, declaring the Assembly did not represent the nation. The ratification was made the occasion for bitter attacks upon the government by anti-Semitic extremists and ardent Monarchists. **Pogroms**, actively supported by

military officers, threw Budapest into a state of panic; hundreds of persons were cruelly treated or murdered. After some delay the government by raiding the strongholds of the terrorists and placing the leaders under arrest succeeded in restoring order. This had scarcely been accomplished when on December 3 the Teleki cabinet, after an angry debate on the question of continuance of a republic or the restoration of ex-King Charles, resigned office. In less than a week Count Teleki was recalled and succeeded in reconstructing his former ministry.—On December 28 the Special Court of Law appointed by the Horthy régime announced its decision to try the ten commissaries of the Bela-Kun government.—The bold attempt of the ex-King Charles to regain the Hungarian throne ended in a fiasco. Aided and abetted by the landed aristocracy and by the higher clergy, Charles entered Hungary on March 26. Regent Horthy refused to surrender supreme power unless directed so to do by the National Assembly; on April 2 the Assembly adopted a resolution refusing restoration, expressing the opinion that Charles's return to Hungary constituted a national danger, and advising his immediate departure. The attempted *coup d'état* brought vigorous protests from the Allies and from the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia). Unfortunately for the Teleki government, the premier published a manifesto issued by the ex-King in which he explained that he had returned under the firm conviction that only the restoration of its crowned and lawful king could bring peace to a distracted people. The Small Landholders' Party took violent exception to the publication of this manifesto, in the introduction of which the premier referred to "His Majesty, King Karl IV", and on April 10 forced the government to retire. Four days later a new cabinet, headed by Count Stephen Bethlen, was formed with six members of the former ministry retaining portfolios. In announcing his program Premier Bethlen declared that although the government espoused Christian ideals and favored national and agrarian interests, it strongly condemned anti-Semitism. In his plea for coöperation among all classes, especially between the farmers and the intellectuals, he pledged the new government to the maintenance of law and order; he promised democratic legislation and the speedy restoration of freedom of press and assembly. He asserted that he would use his influence to restore the Upper Chamber of Parliament, to modernize the state administration, and to secure electoral reform. His government has, thus far, had a stormy career.—A new party known as the Party of Independence, organized by the Calvinist Bishop Balthazar of Debreczen and recruited largely from Hungarian Protestants, issued a statement of principles including cessation of persecution of liberals and Jews, disbandment of the terrorist army, renunciation of all monarchistic plans and a democratic reorganization of the state.—Coupled with the

violent anti-Semitic demonstrations of the year was the **program of anti-Jewish legislation**, the proposal for which was adopted by the National Assembly with only nine dissenting votes. This prohibited Jews to own or lease landed property or to own more than one house; all foreign Jews were debarred from entering the country and those who had entered since 1914 were to be expelled. Jews were forbidden to hold positions in any school or university, or to act as managers of any theatrical enterprise, editors or managers of newspapers, or to hold any office, civil or military, and, further, they were not allowed to hold a government contract or to have Gentile servants. The enrolment of Jews in Hungarian universities was legally limited to five per cent, but professorial committees on credentials made it impossible for any Jewish student to gain admission. Professors of Jewish ancestry were either retired or dismissed.—At the end of June the **financial situation** showed some improvement; the budget for 1920-1921 had a deficit of over 10 billion crowns.

POLAND.—Throughout the greater part of the year Poland, ablaze with nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions and inspired and aided by France, was engaged in war or serious disputes with her neighbors, Russia, Lithuania and Germany. The **Russian counter-offensive** launched in June, 1920, (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 128) continued during July. By August 1 the Poles, notwithstanding Allied aid and encouragement in the form of arms, munitions, generals, military advisers and special ambassadorial missions, had retreated to the gates of Warsaw. It was not until the middle of August, following Allied pressure on Moscow to make peace, that the Poles began to recover from their fright. In the meantime, in an effort to secure peace, Great Britain on July 11 proposed that Moscow make an immediate armistice with Poland through the agency of the Allies. This plan was rejected July 20, the Soviet authorities declaring that they would treat only with Poland, whereupon the latter opened **negotiations with Russia**. After a long delay during which further exchange of notes took place between Moscow on the one hand and Poland and the Allies on the other, both belligerents agreed to meet at Minsk on August 11 and there conclude an armistice. The deliberations of the Minsk conference were just beginning when the Polish armies, augmented by Allied officers and under French command (Weygand), turned the tide of battle, the Soviet offensive rapidly becoming a forced retreat; by August 20 the Poles had entered Brest-Litovsk and before the end of the month had pushed the Soviet armies beyond the Allied eastern boundary of Poland. The opinion was expressed that the Red offensive simply counterbalanced the Polish invasion of the previous year. Great Britain and America took this opportunity to warn the Poles not to transgress again their ethnographic frontiers, but the Polish government, when requested by Washington to state officially that it

would not engage in territorial aggression at the expense of Russia, failed to give a direct answer. Its reply, made public September 2, asserted that it "could hardly be considered fair that artificial boundaries that did not bind our opponent should interfere with the military operations of Poland". Marshal Pilsudski declared that to halt at the ethnic boundary laid down by the Entente "would be to affirm by deed that this illusionary eastern frontier corresponds to our aspirations". During September the Poles continued their eastern drive and by the end of the month held a line running, roughly, from the Dniester north to Rovno, thence to a point about forty-five miles west of Minsk to Drissa. Meanwhile the Poles, flushed with success, had broken off peace negotiations at Minsk, declaring that they desired peace but insisting that further peace parleys be held at Riga. The Russians agreed to this and the first session of the peace delegations was held on September 21. According to the terms of the **armistice**, signed October 12, Poland's eastern boundary was drawn to extend from a point west of Drissa on the river Dvina southward to a point about ten miles east of Pinsk; thence to the west of Rovno, to the east of Ostrog and thence south to a point on the Rumanian frontier about twenty-five miles east of the point fixed by the Allies. Each state pledged itself not to give support to foreign military activities against the other and not to intervene in any way in the internal affairs of the other. By this provision Russia sought to safeguard herself against a possible Polish-French-Wrangel alliance. Following the armistice the United States officially stated that it would refuse to sanction any territorial aggrandizement of Poland at Russia's expense, and that it considered the terms of the armistice to be in violation of the ethnographic principle laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. In spite of all protests and warnings the terms of the armistice were confirmed in a **treaty of peace** signed at Riga on March 18. By it Russia lost 87,000 square miles of territory with a population of 7,000,000 of which only six per cent was Polish.—The termination of the Russian struggle found Poland in dire straits; hunger, sickness, unemployment, strikes, industrial depression, financial stringency and social demoralization were everywhere prevalent.—Between **Poland and Germany** strained relations, due largely to the disposition of Upper Silesia (*cf. supra*, p. 11), prevailed throughout the year.—Few government changes were made during the period under review. On July 24 a new **coalition cabinet** was formed with M. Witos, the peasant leader, as Premier; M. Skulski, Minister of Interior; M. Grabski, Minister of Finance; and Prince Sapieha, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Late in November M. Grabski resigned his portfolio, M. Steczkowski succeeding him. Late in May a ministerial crisis was precipitated by the resignation of Prince Sapieha, who quit his office as a protest against the Polish insurrection in Upper Silesia (*cf. supra*, p.

12). — The **new constitution** was finally adopted on March 17. The result of compromises of many widely different parties and opinions, it combined the essential features of the French and American systems. It provided for a parliament of two houses elected by popular vote of both men and women over 21 years of age. Executive power is vested in a president and a cabinet; the former is chosen for a term of seven years by a national assembly composed of members of the house (Sejm) and the senate; the powers and duties entrusted to him are similar to those of the President of the United States. In time of war, however, his responsibility as commander-in-chief of all military forces shifts to the minister of war, who is empowered to appoint the commander of the army. Amnesty may be granted only by statute. Ministers, while appointed by the president, are individually and collectively responsible to parliament. The judiciary is modeled after that of the United States. A bill of rights includes the usual guarantees in regard to life, liberty and property. Religious toleration is accorded but Catholicism continues to be the leading faith of the country, and relations between the Church and the State are to be legally defined by an agreement with the Vatican subject to ratification by the parliament. Free compulsory education, including religious instruction, in district and municipal schools, is arranged for. Every citizen is to enjoy the right to use his own language and minority nationalities are to be safeguarded by special legislation. Labor, "the main basis of the wealth of the Republic", is to remain under the special protection of the State. In case of unemployment, illness, accident or disability the State will provide social insurance to be determined by special statute.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. — Like the rest of Europe, Czechoslovakia is still burdened with the heritage of the Great War. In comparison with her neighbors, however, she has suffered less acutely during the past year. The program of the **Tusar government** (*cf.* last RECORD, pp. 134-135), embodying an elaborate scheme for social legislation, met with the approval of Parliament, but on September 15, just when its policies began to bear fruit, the **cabinet resigned** office. This was the immediate result of a split in the ranks of the Social Democratic party. Following a resolution of the Executive Committee that the party should not adhere to the Third International, the Left Wing, or Extremists, seceded and, to all intents and purposes, accepted communism. The **new ministry** appointed by President Masaryk and composed of administrative experts, was as follows: Premier and Minister of Interior, Jan Cerny, head of the Provincial Government of Moravia; Defense, General Husak; Posts, Dr. Fodka; Agriculture, Dr. Bordlik; Railroads, Dr. Burger; Public Welfare, Dr. Gruber; Unification, Dr. Fajnor; Food, Dr. Prusa; Public Health, Dr. Prohaska; Foreign Affairs, Dr. Benès; Finance, Dr. Englis; Education, Dr.

Susta; Justice, Dr. Popelka; Commerce, Mr. Hotosek. Three members of the former cabinet, Benès, Englis and Hotosek, retained their portfolios.—The rupture in the Social Democratic party was followed by **serious disturbances** culminating in a general strike called by communist leaders on December 25, the order being sporadically obeyed in Prague and in the mining centers. The Social Democrats and trade-union leaders in a manifesto called upon the workers to ignore the communist summons, with the result that bloody fighting ensued between the two factions. The government finally declared martial law in the affected districts and the movement collapsed. Another communist outbreak at Krombach, late in February, was traced to foreign agitation.—On March 21 M. Hanacik was named minister of finance to succeed Dr. Englis, who tendered his resignation on March 9.—General satisfaction was expressed in Czechoslovakia over the **settlement of the Teschen boundary**. By the Allied award the Duchy of Teschen was divided, the western section containing the coveted Karwin coal region together with the important railroads, the left bank of the Olga from Perschna to Jablunka, and portions of the Arva and Zip districts were allotted to Czechoslovakia; most of the city of Teschen, with surrounding territory, was awarded to Poland. The Poles were also guaranteed a yearly allotment of coal. Private property rights of both nationalities were guaranteed in either section. Questions of language, schools, protection of minorities, and citizenship were adjusted by a treaty signed by both countries on November 20.—In presenting the budget for 1920-1921, Minister of Finance Englis stated on November 4 that not only did expenditures and revenues balance, but there would also be a considerable surplus. Czechoslovakia, it was further stated, was the only Central-European state that had not issued paper money to cover its expenditures.—Intense feeling was engendered between the Czechs and the Germans on account of the **nationalization measures** of the former. The Germans, it was reported, had been forced to use the Czech language and German schools had been closed. In November a movement was started to dismiss all German civil and military officials. So bitter was the animosity of the two races that violent outbreaks occurred at Asch, Eger, Prague, Pilsen and Brünn. After angry protests had been made to the President and the Premier by the German members of Parliament, steps were taken to moderate the situation.—In an effort to prevent the establishment of a state church the Papal See has authorized the use of the Slovak language in the Catholic churches of Slovakia.

RUSSIA.—Throughout the year under review conditions in Russia were the subject of conflicting statements. Certain it is that notwithstanding the frequent rumors of its approaching overthrow, the Soviet government was still in control at the end of the year and, in many

respects, in a more favorable position than at any time since its inception. Attempts to destroy it, however, were not wanting. Late in June, 1919, General **Wrangel**, who had been associated with General Denikine in his abortive campaigns in South Russia (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 123), launched a new offensive against the Bolsheviki in the Crimea. During July, August and September, when the Bolsheviki were engaged with the Poles, Wrangel achieved considerable military success. The government which he set up at Sebastopol was recognized on August 11 by France who, as was currently stated, was responsible for the undertaking. In his military operations he was supported on his right by Cossack tribesmen and by the guerrilla forces of the former bandit Makhno; on his left General **Petlura**, peasant leader of the Ukraine, and General Balakhovitch rendered valuable assistance. As soon as the armistice was concluded with Poland, Trotsky marshalled all his available military power against the South-Russian leader. On October 12 the Red forces had advanced to the sea of Azov and by the end of the month Wrangel's forces were in full retreat. In a last effort to check his powerful adversaries he made a desperate stand on November 11 at the Isthmus of Perekop; after a vain attempt at resistance most of his army, vastly outnumbered, was annihilated and the remnant, disorganized and disheartened, was driven, panic-stricken, toward the sea. On November 14 the Bolshevik forces appeared before the gates of Sebastopol and Wrangel found safety on a French warship. Thousands of civilian refugees sought a haven on Russian and Allied vessels which carried them to Scutari, Constantinople and other ports. With the elimination of Wrangel the Soviet government turned its attention to Generals **Petlura** and **Balakhovitch**. Petlura's capital, Kamenetz-Podolsk, was captured on November 19; the fall of Kiev shortly afterward marked the end of his power. Balakhovitch shared a similar fate; with his force of 40,000 he was soon cooped up east of Mozyr. By December the Soviet forces had dealt the decisive blow; Balakhovitch had disappeared and the remaining handful of his soldiers was in full flight toward Poland.—Thus relieved of impending military dangers Moscow redoubled its efforts toward securing a **resumption of trade relations** with the Western Powers, a goal toward which it had made considerable headway the previous year (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 125). On his return from London, July 1, M. Krassin informed his government that Great Britain refused to continue negotiations until the Soviet authorities first agreed to cease further anti-British and anti-Allied military activities in Persia, the Caucasus and Turkey, to release all British prisoners, to abandon all propaganda in India, and to recognize the Russian debt. Tchitcherin, Bolshevik Foreign Minister, in a communication to Lloyd George on July 8 accepted these conditions and a delegation composed of Kamenev, Krassin and Milutin met at

Reval, Esthonia, preparatory to departure for London. Subsequently the British Premier, under pressure of the French government, informed the Bolshevik government that as an additional requirement for continuance of trade negotiations, Russia must cease hostilities against Poland and agree to an armistice. To this demand Moscow refused to accede. This requirement of the Allied premiers was reaffirmed at the Allied Conference at Boulogne (*cf. supra*, p. 4), where it was agreed that no further discussions would be conducted with the Soviets until the outstanding questions between Moscow and Poland and between Moscow and the border states had been adjusted. Although announcement to this effect was made in the British House of Commons on July 29 the Soviet envoys proceeded to London. Soon after their arrival charges of carrying on propaganda preferred against Kamenev led to his hasty departure; the burden of continuing negotiations fell upon Krassin and he met with bitter opposition from many quarters. The plea of Count Sforza, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, before the Italian Chamber in favor of allowing Russia to develop her government as she saw fit without foreign interference, encouraging though it was to Krassin, was more than offset by the attitude of France and the United States. In a note to the Italian ambassador on August 10 Secretary of State Colby, while expressing sympathy for the Russian people and respect for the territorial integrity of their country, stated emphatically that the Soviet government was tyrannical, untrustworthy, unrepresentative and dangerous, and as such would not be recognized by the United States. The following day France, much to the surprise of the British Premier, recognized the Wrangel government. Krassin was further handicapped by opposition of prominent British statesmen like Winston Spencer Churchill. Then, too, at this time relations between Moscow and London were somewhat strained on account of differences relative to the return of prisoners, Soviet propaganda and British aid to General Wrangel, concerning all of which a series of notes were exchanged between the two governments during October. The termination of the Russo-Polish war and the elimination of Wrangel removed two main obstacles to the success of Krassin's undertaking. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on November 19 stated that the government had decided "to carry out the July arrangements" with Russia. The completed **Anglo-Russian trade agreement** was handed to Krassin on November 20 and, after protracted delay, was signed by representatives of both countries on March 22. By its terms the blockade, in so far as Britain was concerned, was to be lifted immediately, both countries were to release prisoners, Bolshevik propaganda within the British Empire was to cease, and all other hindrances to an immediate resumption of trade were to be removed. The treaty further accorded diplomatic rights to "official agents". The Soviet

government assumed responsibility for all Russian debts to British nationals and in return Great Britain agreed not to assist in the seizure of Russian gold for payment of Russia's old debt to France. In defending his policy Lloyd George admitted, March 22, that Britain had recognized the Soviet as the *de facto* government of Russia. Moscow's efforts to reopen commercial relations with the outside world were not confined to Great Britain; **trade agreements** were made with all the border states; Germany and several of the smaller countries, e. g. Holland, entered into commercial intercourse with Russia. The United States still held aloof, although on December 20 it was announced that war-time restrictions against credit transactions with the Soviets had been removed. On March 25, however, the American government, greatly to the satisfaction of France, officially declined the invitation of Foreign Minister Tchitcherin to conclude a trade compact. With the exception of the statement by Premier Leygues on November 25, to the effect that he favored suppression of the blockade and the granting of permits to French traders and manufacturers to deal with Russia, the French government firmly opposed all intercourse with the Soviet republic. A preliminary **trade treaty**, modeled after that with Britain, was concluded with **Germany** on May 6. Negotiations with **Italy** and **Scandinavia**, although several times broken off, were still pending at the close of the year. Russia's foreign trade during May and June was greater than during the entire previous period of the Soviet régime.—The Soviet authorities struggled with many **internal problems**. Starvation, sickness, strikes and industrial paralyzation, products, the Soviet leaders asserted, of war, blockade and necessary friction in inaugurating a new social order, were especially distressing. It was largely a shortage of food that led to menacing **strikes** in Petrograd, Moscow and other centers during the past winter. A February strike of 14,000 government workers in Petrograd for an increased bread ration soon assumed the proportions of a **counter-revolution**. On February 26 the strikers were joined by the Kronstadt garrison and sailors from the Baltic fleet. To the plea for more food was added the demand for convocation of a constituent assembly and the right of free trade or individual enterprise. Demonstrations followed which rapidly developed into pitched battles when government troops attempted to restore order. By March 15 the rebellion, described by Lenin as a case of discontent utilized by some Czarist reactionaries, Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and foreign powers, had been completely crushed.—It was officially stated in January that the membership of the Russian **labor unions** aggregated 6,970,000, of which 30 per cent were specialists (engineers, chemists etc.), 7 per cent clerical employees and 63 per cent manual workers. The struggle between these labor unions and the Soviets for supremacy was grave enough to move Lenin to declare

on February 7 that unless a settlement was soon made the whole Bolshevik state system would crumble.—That the Soviet leaders realized the impossibility of maintaining a purely communistic state at the present time was evident from the statements of Lenin before the **Tenth Communist Congress**, which met in Moscow early in March. He declared the approach to pure socialism must be through state socialism and, for the sake of economic development, Russia must compromise with the capitalistic bourgeoisie. Experience had shown, he further declared, that in practice the government must abandon certain principles relative to internal administration. The changes which he proposed and which were adopted, though not without opposition, were: more freedom in exchange of goods among the people; abandonment of compulsory requisitioning of farm produce, thus permitting the peasants to dispose of their own products; more liberty for private initiative in the organization and operation of smaller industries; and, lastly, greater freedom for coöperative societies. By the more radical Communists these changes were considered unnecessary concessions to the peasants and a compromise with bourgeois ideals. In defense of his policy Lenin pointed out on April 16 and again on the 24th that the peasants constituted the backbone of the Russian population, that for years the peasants had suffered from military requisitions, poor crops and famine, and that they were now called upon to shoulder a new burden in the demobilized soldiers who, accustomed to rob, pillage and murder, constituted "our gravest enemies". Peasant discontent, he concluded, must be allayed else a new war would ensue between the tillers of the soil and the proletariat.—Soon after the collapse of the Kolchak régime (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 122) **four governments** came into existence in Siberia: Verkhne-Udinsk, Chita, Vladivostok and Blagoveshchensk. The first and third were democratic in character; the second, under General Semenov, was reactionary, and the last was Bolshevik. By March, 1920, the Verkhne-Udinsk and Vladivostok governments had become sovietized. It was at this juncture that Japan seriously interfered in the affairs of the maritime provinces, ousted the Bolsheviks and took control of the situation (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 122). From this time until autumn little of importance transpired. During October a series of conferences were held and the question of amalgamation was discussed but without result. A move toward unification occurred, however, when late in October, with the withdrawal of Japanese support, the Semenov régime collapsed; thereupon the Verkhne-Udinsk administration immediately moved to Chita where it began the task of creating a unified Siberian state. Fortunately for the undertaking, the other governments voluntarily surrendered their authority and on January 9 elections for a National Constituent Assembly were held. These elections, fairly conducted, resulted in the choice of 160 Peas-

ants, 98 Communists, 42 Peasant Unionists, 16 Social Revolutionaries, 16 Social Democrats, 10 Buriats and 5 Koreans. The provisional officers of the **Far Eastern Republic**, as the state was styled, were all Communists. From its inception the government of the new state struggled incessantly with numerous problems, economic and political. It was forced to carry on almost constant warfare against General Semenov and his Lieutenant-General Ungernsternberg who, it is alleged, were supported by Japan; this charge was denied by the Tokio authorities but China maintained that she had concrete evidence to substantiate it. That the Japanese were not in sympathy with the Siberian republic was evident from their proclamation of December 3, forbidding Vladivostok and the maritime provinces to unite with it, and also from the part which they played in ousting the Vladivostok local government last May. To the charge that Japan assisted the anti-Bolsheviks in the latter's *coup d'état* by disarming the militia of the city, General Tachibana, Japanese commanding officer, retorted that such action was necessary to preserve order. On June 15 it was reported that the government of the Far Eastern Republic had decided to join Soviet Russia.

IBERIAN STATES.—The unsettled political and economic conditions, so long prevalent in the Iberian peninsula, continued throughout the year under review. In **Spain** the **Dato ministry** resigned on August 30 only to be recast two days later to include two newcomers, Señor Ordoney as Minister of Justice and Señor Portago as Minister of Public Instruction. No change was made in the government's program. Hoping to divert public attention from the social and economic movement then sweeping over Italy, and to prevent a similar revolution in Spain, the Premier promised important reforms at a cabinet council presided over by the King on October 4. His program included reorganization of the ministry of labor so that all industrial disputes might be legally settled, better housing facilities for workmen, workmen's insurance, coöperative cultivation of state and municipal domains and private estates hitherto unproductive, increased railway rates on all commodities not regarded as necessities of life, irrigation, afforestation, harnessing of water-power and reorganization of the army and navy.—As a result of **general elections** held December 18 the Conservatives (followers of the government) secured 197 seats; Conservatives (followers of Señor Maura), 21; Conservatives (followers of Señor Lacierval), 20; Liberals of all sections, 102; Republicans, 15; Reformists, 8; Socialists, 3; Catalanian Autonomists, 18; Monarchists' Union, 5; Jaimists, 3; Independents and Catholics, 12.—On March 8 Premier **Dato** was **assassinated** in revenge, it was currently rumored, for his appointment of General Anido as Military Governor of Barcelona. Five days later, after the veteran leader Antonio Maura had failed to form a cabinet, the Con-

servatives united in supporting Señor Allende-Salazar as Premier. He chose a **Conservative-Coalition** ministry as follows: Foreign Affairs, Marquis Lema; Interior, Señor Bugallal; War, Viscount Eza; Marine, Señor Prida; Finance, Señor Arguelles; Public Works, Señor Lacierval; Public Instruction, Señor Aparicio; Labor, Count Elizarraga; Justice, Señor Pinies.—At a **Socialist Congress** held on April 14 at Madrid the Communists withdrew from the Socialist party after a resolution to adhere to the Third International had been rejected by a vote of 8808 to 6025.—Military operations against “rebellious” Moroccans cost Spain \$9,000,000 for the first six months of 1920.—In **Portugal** after the sudden death of Premier Baptista (*cf.* last RECORD, p. 139), his cabinet soon dissolved and great difficulty was experienced in forming another. Finally on July 19, after an interregnum of over a month, Senhor Antonio Granja succeeded in constituting a liberal ministry. The struggle with a coal shortage, deficient wheat supply, a forty-day railway strike, a depreciated currency and an exhausted treasury was too much for this government and it went out of office on November 14. Six days later a coalition government was formed by Senhor Alvaro de Castro but it could not command the confidence of the Chamber and was succeeded on November 30 by another coalition cabinet formed by Senhor Liberato-Pinto. The new Minister of Finance in an effort to wipe out an enormous deficit proposed heavy direct property taxes, an inheritance tax which would take one-third of the estate, and a graduated income tax. The Pinto cabinet resigned February 18 without having solved the vital questions affecting the country. After several abortive attempts by various politicians Senhor Bernardino Machado succeeded in forming a new ministry on February 24. Another political flare-up occurred late in May resulting in the resignation of the Machado government; it was succeeded on May 25 by a new ministry headed by Thome Barros Qutiroz as Premier and Minister of Finance. Rumors of revolutionary and Royalist plots were frequent.

BALKAN AND DANUBIAN STATES.—**Albania** continued in her effort to establish independence and secure recognition. Her conflict with Italy was satisfactorily adjusted at Tirana on August 2 (*cf. supra*, p. 75). According to a *modus vivendi* the difficulties with Greece and Yugoslavia were to be settled by the Supreme Council.—**Bulgaria** made rapid progress in carrying out its program of reconstruction. Under the leadership of Premier **Stamboulinsky** a labor conscription act, a new education law and a land act all became effective. By the Labor Act all citizens between the ages of twenty and fifty were liable to obligatory work to be performed for the state. In this way it was hoped to enable the government to develop and cultivate large tracts of valuable land, to provide for the improvement and construction of state enterprises, *e. g.*, highways, and to foster a spirit of apprecia-

tion and responsibility toward the state. For religious reasons Mohammedan women were exempt from the provisions of the law. Under the new Education Act each province was required to maintain a certain number of schools of primary and grammar grades and at least two high schools for both sexes. Expropriation of surplus land belonging to individuals who do not or cannot cultivate it, and its distribution to the landless, especially war refugees, was the purpose of the land legislation. Premier Stamboulinsky, appearing before the Allied Conference in London, dwelt upon the injustice of the cession of Western Thrace to Greece; he asserted first that two-thirds of the population were bitterly opposed to it and, secondly, that by it Bulgaria was cut off from her only territorial outlet to the Aegean sea. The Bulgarians employed every resource of diplomacy to recover the Thracian territory. Premier Stamboulinsky's proposal for the formation of a "Green International" of agrarians in Southeastern and Central Europe aroused considerable interest and some enthusiasm in anti-Bolshevist circles.—Events in **Greece** during the year under review revolved about dynastic and imperialistic problems. The attempted assassination of M. Venizelos in Paris on August 12, part of a scheme to overthrow the government and restore Constantine to the throne, led to rioting in Athens and arrest of several members of the pro-Constantine group. Following the premature death of King Alexander, October 25, Parliament designated Prince Paul, younger brother of the late King, as his successor. Pending his acceptance, Parliament, in conformity with the constitution, named Admiral P. Kounduriottis as Regent. The Prince-elect declined to accept the throne, declaring that it belonged to his father and his elder brother George, neither of whom had renounced his right to it. This did not meet with the approval of either Premier Venizelos or the Allied governments which had been instrumental in driving Constantine into exile. That the Greek people accepted Prince Paul's point of view was evident in the elections for a new parliament, held November 14, which resulted in the repudiation of the Premier. He and all but two of his ministers were defeated and 250 Royalists, as against 118 Venizelist deputies, were elected. Upon receipt of official returns the Venizelos government resigned and was succeeded by a cabinet formed by the veteran politician George Rhallis as follows: President and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rhallis; Interior, Tealbaris; Finance, Kalogeropoulos; War, Gounaris; Education, Theo. Zaimis; Economy and Agriculture, Peter Mavromichali; Marine, John Rhallis. On November 17, Regent Kounduriottis tendered his resignation and was succeeded by Queen-Mother Olga; she announced that she assumed the regency in the absence of "her well-beloved son Constantine". Serious international complications threatened when on December 5 the Greek people voted overwhelmingly

for the return of Constantine, their exiled king; remonstrances and warnings were sent by the Supreme Council then sitting in London. So strong was their opposition to this action of the Greeks that they threatened to abandon Greece to her fate if the latter insisted upon Constantine's return to the throne, but neither their threats nor opposition in the Balkans and among the Greeks in Asia Minor prevented his triumphal entry into Athens on December 19. Chagrined at the turn of events the Allies, especially France and Italy, embarked upon a policy of throttling Greece by cutting off financial support and insisting upon a revision of the Sèvres Treaty (*cf. supra*, p. 7). In the latter respect they seem to have been motivated by imperialistic reasons. Notwithstanding the secret arrangements between the Kemalists on the one hand and France and Italy on the other (*cf. supra*, p. 8), Greece rejected *in toto* the Allied proposals for a revision of the Sèvres treaty (*cf. supra*, p. 8) and in March launched a new offensive in Asia Minor in a single-handed effort to force the Turks to conform to the terms of the original treaty. They were unsuccessful, and warfare continued without decisive results. In this struggle the French and Italians apparently gave aid to the Turks. The Interallied High Commission at first declared Constantinople and the Straits to be neutral and, therefore, legally closed to the Greeks, but on June 15 this ruling was reversed. Meanwhile the Greek government appeared to be conducting a carefully manœuvred diplomatic campaign with a view to securing support of Great Britain as against France and Italy, and thus securing as much as possible of the share originally allotted to Greece in the Sèvres Treaty. Because of his failure to agree with the King over the questions of ministerial responsibility and representation of Greece at the London conference, Premier Rhallis surrendered the premiership in February to Kalogeropoulos, who reconstructed the ministry as follows: Agriculture, Ballajzis; Justice, Theotokis; Finance, Protopapadakis; Marine, John Rhallis; Education, Theo. Zaimis; Interior and communications, Tsaldaris. Another change in the government occurred on April 8 when Kalogeropoulos, having failed to retain his grip on the various political factions, resigned as premier, his place being taken by Gounaris.—During the year matrimonial alliances which may be of future political importance were formed between the reigning houses of Greece and Rumania.—All things considered, conditions in Yugoslavia improved during the year under review. After a series of disagreements between the Radicals and the Democrats over questions relating to the administration of the provincial governments, control of exports, agricultural reform and eligibility of teachers, the Vesnitch government resigned on July 20; three days later Dr. Vesnitch was requested to reconstruct his ministry. Following the ratification of the Treaty of Rapallo (*cf. supra*, p. 6), November 12, Dr. Trumbitch, Minister

of Foreign Affairs, resigned office and his portfolio was taken over by the Premier. Elections for a **Constituent Assembly** to draft a constitution were held November 28 and resulted as follows: Democrats, 94; Radicals, 93; Communists, 58; Radich (Croatian autonomy), 50; Bosnian Moslems, 24; Catholic Popular party, 23; Peasants, 39; Social Democrats, 10; National Socialists (Slovene), 2; minor parties, 26. Work on the constitution progressed but was not completed; instead of a federation of states as originally planned, the basic law, so it seemed probable, would provide for a highly centralized state with the old boundaries wiped out and the former divisions replaced by departments governed as in France. The peasant and clerical parties of Croatia opposed this arrangement and desired to set up a republic. The Vesnitch government resigned in December and, after considerable negotiation, was replaced by a coalition ministry headed by Pashitch, as follows: Premier and Foreign Affairs, Pashitch; Interior, Drachknovitch; Public Works, Yotza Yovanovitch; Public Instruction, Pribitchevitch; Agriculture, Pontzeli; Public Health, Karashmetovitch; Mines and Forests, Krisman; War, General Branko Youvanotich; Social Policy, Koukovetz; Agrarian Reform, Ouzokonvitch; Commerce and Industry, Mylyvio Yovanovitch; Justice, Djouritchito; Communications, Velisar Yankovitch. Bolshevik propaganda assumed such alarming proportions during December and January that the government instituted severe measures against the Communists, including the dissolution of their organization, suppression of their papers and prosecution of their leaders in case of disturbances.—The **death of Nicholas**, dethroned King of Montenegro, removed one factor of a perplexing problem in the internal affairs of the unitary state.—In **Rumania** extensive **agrarian reforms**, foundation for which was laid in 1917, were taken in hand by the government. All estates of over 500 hectares in Rumania proper, and of over 100 hectares in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania were to be distributed to the peasantry, who were required to pay 65 per cent of the pre-war value, the state paying the remaining 35 per cent; time for payment was to extend over a period of 45 years. A series of paralyzing strikes culminated last November in an attempt to overthrow the government. The scheme was defeated by the Premier, General Averescu, who caused the arrest of all Socialist and Syndicalist leaders who had endorsed the Third International. At his order all technical workers were called to the colors and put under military discipline. As an aftermath a bomb explosion in the Rumanian Senate on December 9 killed Greceanu, Minister of Public Works, and Bishop Radu, and dangerously wounded several others. In **Transylvania** extreme bitterness resulted from a government decree requiring Magyar children to attend Rumanian schools.—Under the inspiration and guidance of France a formal **“defensive” alliance against Soviet Russia** was entered into by Rumania, Poland and Hungary on March 2.

THE BALTIC STATES.—After long and oftentimes acrimonious discussions, **Finland** succeeded in concluding an armistice with Soviet Russia on October 1. By the terms of a treaty signed October 12 the Petchenga region, Finland's natural outlet to the Arctic ocean, came into her possession; the islands in the gulf of Finland, including Hogland, went to Finland; East Karelia became an autonomous state; and the Finnish inhabitants of the government of Petrograd were given all the rights of ethnic minorities. The Finns in turn agreed to evacuate the districts of Repola and Porajarvi. The **award of the Aland Islands to Finland** by a commission of the League of Nations (*cf. supra*, p. 16) caused great rejoicing. The efforts of the German-Finnish reactionaries to overthrow M. Holsti led, early in April, to a ministerial crisis. After M. Kallio of the Agrarian Party failed to form a cabinet, the task was undertaken by Prof. Vennola, a Progressive, and a ministry was constituted as follows: Prime Minister, Vennola; Foreign Affairs, Holsti; Interior, Ritavuori; Justice, Helminen; Commerce, Makkonen; War, Colonel Hamalainen; Communications, Pullinen; Education, Liakka; Finance, Ryti; Social Affairs, Jonkahainen; Agriculture, Kacio.—Political and social disturbances in **Esthonia** were responsible for the July downfall of the Tönnison Socialist ministry. Early in August the former Premier returned to power at the head of a coalition government recruited from the Independent and People's parties. Following the recognition of Esthonia by the Great Powers, economic conditions improved, but commerce was still hampered by customs barriers. The new constitution, modeled largely after that of Switzerland, went into effect during the year. Particularly notable were its provisions relative to state socialization and to initiation of legislation.—By a treaty signed with Soviet Russia on August 11, **Latvia** obtained the right to exploit 250,000 acres of Russian forest. Both parties agreed to submit their claims to a referendum in the Drissa district. During the year the Letts made great progress in inaugurating their land-reform and nationalization programs; telephones, telegraphs, railroads and shipping are now owned by the state, and a recent law permits the government to acquire shares in enterprises which exploit state property. The cardinal principle of the **Latvian land policy** was that everybody should be able to own land. The law provided for a state land fund to cover extended credit to new owners who may acquire land without any initial payment. Each landless family may secure a maximum of approximately 60 acres, and as most of the forfeited land is covered by mortgages held by Latvian banks, compensation is provided for.—Between the millstones of Poland and Russia, **Lithuania** passed through a troublesome year. On July 12 she entered into a peace agreement with Moscow by which the latter agreed to pay 3,000,000 rubles in gold, to release Lithuania from all share in the old Russian

debts and to define her boundaries so as to include Vilna, Lida and Grodno. This treaty was supplemented in August by one relative to Bolshevik evacuation of Vilna; hardly had the arrangement been concluded when the Lithuanians came into conflict with the Poles, who insisted not only on certain boundary rectifications but on occupying Vilna and using Lithuania's railroads in their offensive against the Bolsheviks. Hostilities ceased for the time being when, through the mediation of the League of Nations, a commission was appointed to study the respective claims to the disputed territories. This pacific proposal was rendered futile by the seizure of Vilna on October 9 by the Polish adventurer, General Zeligowski. Lithuania in protesting against this action to the world at large and to the League of Nations, staunchly asserted that she had evidence that Zeligowski's move had been supported by the Polish government. This accusation the Polish authorities at first vigorously denied. At this juncture the League of Nations suggested that the dispute be settled by plebiscite. After protracted delay the League announced in March that because of the hostility of both disputants to the plebiscite scheme it would be abandoned in favor of a settlement by direct negotiation. The first step in this direction was taken on April 21 when representatives of the two countries held their first conference. Settlement was still pending at the end of June.

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES.— In Sweden general elections to the Riksdag resulted disastrously for the government. The Conservatives elected 68, a gain of 13; Farmers' National Union, 28, a gain of 19; Social Democrats, 76, a loss of 11; Liberals, 45, a loss of 18; Left Socialists, 4, a loss of 6. As a result of this popular decision the coalition ministry of Hjalmar Branting resigned office on October 22. The Liberals refused to join the Socialists in reconstructing the former government. After much difficulty a new cabinet was formed, October 29, with Baron Louis de Geer as Prime Minister and Count Wrangel as Minister of Foreign Affairs. In his speech from the throne at the opening of the Riksdag in the middle of January the King referred to the death of Crown Princess Margaret, to Sweden's adhesion to the League of Nations, and to the importance of maintaining the country's means of defense. In order to combat the financial crisis he urged strict economy, both private and governmental. The program of the government included social reform, labor legislation and tariff revision. The state budget showed a total of 1,300,000,000 kroner, or an increase of 225,000,000 over last year. Upon failure to receive the support of both chambers the de Geer ministry resigned office in February. Hjalmar Branting declined the invitation of King Gustav to form a new ministry as did Admiral Lundman, Conservative leader, and Prof. Eden, leader of the Liberals. Finally von Sydow was persuaded to undertake the task and

succeeded in reconstructing the old ministry, Bekow as Minister of Finance being the only new member. Hammarskjöld, Minister of Defense, resigned office in May after the Rigsdag had passed a measure limiting the period of military service to 165 days instead of 225 as he had proposed.—Throughout the year keen interest was manifested in the disposition of the **Aland Islands**; disappointment was felt in Sweden over the recommendation of the Special League of Nations Commission that the archipelago be awarded to Finland.—During the year under review **Norway** suffered from serious labor disturbances, including a railroad strike called December 1 and a strike by the seamen called May 9. Attempts to call a general strike in December were thwarted by the Norwegian Community Aid, an organization formed to ward off industrial conflicts. In accordance with the minority report of a Royal Commission the Storting in July enacted a measure providing for industrial works councils with advisory functions. The majority report recommended that the councils, which were composed of not more than three representatives of employers and of from nine to twelve representatives of employees, be given far-reaching jurisdiction in industrial matters. On January 17, following a split in the ranks of the National Labor Party, a new organization called the Norwegian Socialist-Democratic-Labor Party was formed; its membership was recruited from the ranks of Moderate Socialists who advocated parliamentary methods.—In **Denmark** elections to the Folkething (House) held on July 6 resulted as follows: Party of the Left, 51, a gain of 3; Conservatives, 27, a loss of 1; Radicals, 18, a gain of 2; Socialists, 48, a gain of 6; Tradesmen, 3, a loss of 1; German Schleswig, 1. Elections to the Landsting (Senate) showed a substantial majority for the government parties, the Left and the Conservatives; the Socialists, however, gained 3 seats. Announcement was made on September 8 that the amendment to the Danish Constitution, incorporating North Schleswig as a part of Denmark, had been ratified by a popular referendum, 613,471 to 19,490; the Socialists, for political reasons, refrained from voting. Danish syndicalists decided in May to affiliate with the Third International.

OTHER EUROPEAN STATES.—During the first half of the year under review **Holland** was disturbed by numerous strikes and lockouts. For the year 1920 there were no less than 457 strikes affecting 49,208 workers; the number of lockouts for the same period totaled 18, affecting 11,385 hands. To minimize future labor troubles the government on December 28 proposed to institute throughout the country commissions with powers of intervention and authority to act as courts of arbitration at the request of both parties to the dispute. These commissions would inquire into causes of conflict and fix responsibility, and their decisions were to be given the force of law. To ensure complete understanding of all disputes, the commis-

sions could compel the production of books and documents. The government presented its program to include partial revision of the constitution, a new educational law (compulsory education), measures for the regulation of industry, agricultural legislation, a plan for nation-wide electrification, and improvements in the East Indies. In her speech from the throne Queen Wilhelmina intimated that increased taxation was inevitable. The committee appointed by the Second Chamber to consider revision of the constitution submitted its report November 5. Among other things it favored the maintenance of the monarchical form of government but recommended that in case there should be no male heir to Princess Juliana, the people should be empowered through the Estates-General to determine their form of government. It further recommended universal suffrage, election of the First Chamber by proportional representation, revision of the constitution by popular referendum, admission of laymen to the practice of law, and biennial budgets. Early in October D. Fock, President of the Upper Chamber, was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies; D. A. P. Nkoolen was elected as his successor in the Chamber. Funds were voted for the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, which had been interrupted in 1907. After prolonged negotiation the Liberal and Liberal Independent parties and the Economic League fused into a single organization. According to preliminary returns of the census taken in December the population of Holland totaled 6,841,155, a gain of 1.42 per cent since 1909. —In **Belgium** a bill granting unrestricted suffrage to women was defeated in the Chamber of Deputies on July 1 by a vote of 89 to 74. Later in the month, however, the Chamber voted 146 to 4 to amend the constitution so that any future parliament by a two-thirds majority may extend the suffrage without constitutional revision. Differences of opinion relative to the reorganization of the army, the attitude of Belgium toward the Russo-Polish war, socialization of industry, the Flemish question, and numerous union problems, together with vexing industrial disputes, led to a ministerial crisis early in November. The fall of the coalition government of M. Delacroix was foreshadowed in the prior resignation of M. Paul Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Paul Janson, Minister of National Defense, and M. Louis Franch, Colonial Minister. After ten days of skillful negotiation a new coalition cabinet was formed on November 19 composed of 4 Catholics, 4 Socialists, 3 Liberals and 1 non-partisan as follows: M. de Wiart, Premier; M. Vandervelde, Justice; M. Jaspar, Foreign Affairs; M. Van de Vyvere, Economic Affairs; M. Devèze, National Defense; M. Neujean, Railways; M. Destrée, Science and Art; M. Wanters, Industry, Labor and Food; M. Anseele, Public Works; Colonel Theunis, Finance; M. Ruzette, Agriculture; M. Franch, Colonies. On December 9 the Chamber expressed confi-

dence by a vote of 122 to 3. In the Communal Elections held April 24, the Catholics made notable gains at the expense of the Liberals and Socialists. On February 3 an eight-hour-day bill was enacted. The Third International was repudiated by the Socialist party, 448,000 to 37,000. At the Colonial Congress, which opened December 18, King Albert made a lengthy appeal for the further development of the Belgian Congo. Post-war reconstruction made rapid development during the year.—A Federal Labor Bureau was established in **Switzerland** to have jurisdiction over all questions affecting labor, including the drafting of bills regulating relations between employer and employee. The Bureau was designed to act also as an intermediary between the Swiss government and the labor organs of the League of Nations. The executive of the Swiss Social Democratic party voted 40 to 18 against adherence to the Third International. M. Ador was succeeded in the presidency of the Republic by Dr. G. Motta.—In December **Luxemburg** was admitted to membership in the League of Nations.—On account of the almost constant wrangling between German and Polish elements the **Free City of Danzig** passed through a stormy political year. On December 7, Dr. Sahm, former burgomaster, was elected President of the Senate and thus automatically became the first President of the City-State.

IX. ASIA AND AFRICA

CHINA.—Harassed by famine and by continued civil war, threatened with bankruptcy and menaced by the overshadowing hand of Japan, the people of China passed through a year of abject misery. The solution of the long conflict between the North and the South, which seemed imminent early in June, 1920, was seriously interrupted when a new struggle was precipitated in the North by the dismissal of General Hsu Shu-cheng, commander of the frontier-defense troops in Mongolia and a prominent member of the Anfu group. The **Anfus**, reputed to be corrupt and in favor of a pro-Japanese policy, bitterly opposed peace with the South by negotiation, a step openly advocated by President Hsu Shih-cheng. Taking exception to the action of the President, they refused to sanction the dismissal of the frontier commander and war ensued between the two military parties of the North, the Chih-li and the Anfus. The defeat of Tuan Chih-jui, leader of the Anfus, by General Wei Pei-fu south of Peking on July 18 threw the capital into a state of panic and the city was placed under martial law. As a result of negotiations at Tientsin on July 25 the Anfus reluctantly acceded to the punishment of General Hsu Shu-cheng and disbandment of his frontier-defense force, as well as the dissolution of the Anfu Club.—Following this defeat a **new cabinet** was appointed on August 11 with Ching Yung-peng as Prime Minister and Minister of War; Dr. Wu Yen, Foreign Affairs; Admiral Sah